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591 ent. "A good wife lives contentedly with her mother-in-law."[2]

177 585 The ceremonial accompanying marriage has, in general, a simple Catholic form. Most of the features of the old Aztec customs,[3] such as the consultation of diviners in selecting the bride, the formal exhortation of the bride and bridegroom, the tying together of the clothing of the boy and girl as the sanctifying act, have been displaced by Christian-church ritual. But certain elements remain. The formal presentation of the request for the girl's hand, which must be repeated [584] before formally accepted, was a part of the old Indian [608] custom. The godfather has taken the place of the professional *cihuatlanque*. Minor elements of this custom, such as the bringing of gifts of fruit and food, are likewise survivals.[3]

584 [608] When the boy has found a girl he wants to marry, he tells his parents. His father and his mother and his godfather and his godmother all go together to the house of the girl to ask her consent. They are received by the girl and her parents. She is not expected to give her answer then. The representatives of the boy ask the girl and her family to think it over, and they come back in a week. They usually go on Sunday. They may come back more than once. If she says "No," the matter is ended. If she says "Yes," then just a week after her consent is obtained the boy's parents and godparents come to her house and put flowers and candles in front of the *santo* in her house. They do

[183] [2] When it was suggested to one informant that the couple might live with the wife's parents, he laughed and said, "Oh, no, there he couldn't even cry out." But a few newly married couples do live in that way.

[3] See, e.g., Clavijero, *Historia antigua de Mexico*, p. 326.

[3] In some villages the old customs are very largely preserved. See, e.g., J. Paredes Colin, art., "Marriage Customs of San Juan Miautitlan" (Puebla).

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this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo* also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it. Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with *mole poblano* ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the father in control over and responsibility for the child, is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. The details of family relationships among the Aztecs are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

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daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

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585 before the local municipal authorities in the same clothing they wear daily. They obtain a marriage certificate for which they pay a fee which varies with the economic status and political connections of the groom. Some pay as little as five or ten pesos; others pay as much as fifty pesos. After they get their marriage certificate [264] the couple may go to the home of the groom where chocolate, bread, wine, and *ponche* may be served. However, the simplicity of the civil marriage is in sharp contrast with the elaborate and expensive preparations for the church marriage.[6]

582 Less than a generation ago, girls commonly married between the age of twelve and fifteen and boys anywhere from sixteen to thirty, but most often in their middle and late twenties. Today there is a definite trend toward later marriage for girls and earlier marriage for boys. An analysis of 133 Tepoztlán marriages recorded in the municipio marriage registry from 1941 to 1946, inclusive, reveals that most girls marry between fifteen and seventeen and most boys between nineteen and twenty. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13. Frequency Distribution of Age of Marriage for Men and Women in 133 Cases Recorded During 1941-1946, Inclusive.

Age	No. of Men	No. of Women	Age	No. of Men	No. of Women
12	0	1	26	2	2
13	0	0	27	1	1
14	0	5	28	2	0
15	0	22	29	3	1
16	0	28	30	2	3
17	8	27	31	0	0
18	11	15	32	1	2
19	17	11	33	1	0
20	27	1	34	2	0
21	10	0	35	3	0
22	11	4	36	3	0
23	9	3	37	3	0
24	4	0	38	2	0
25	4	0	39	0	0
			40	1	0

Eighty per cent of the women and twenty-seven per cent of the men married at nineteen or earlier, whereas only ten per cent of the women and fifty-four per cent of the men married in their twenties. There are many more marriages of men than women in their thirties and forties. The few women who marry after twenty-nine represent cases of second marriage. In the past a girl who was not married by the [589] time she was twenty had little chance of getting married; and it was said of such girls, "She might as well enter a convent," and "She is ready to dress saints." More [875] and more girls are delaying marriage in order to go through secondary school and become teachers. It is interesting to note that many of the Tepoztecan school-

[6] In the past there were two stages in the civil marriage, the *presentación* and the actual marriage.

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	Income (Cont.) (Pesos)
Certificates and copies	200
Charge for entries in the civil register	50
Exemption of publication of acts of the civil register [a]	700
Corral de consejo	50
Tax on cattle	300
Commercial and industrial register	200
Registration of cattle brands	200
Registration of private documents	400
Miscellaneous authorizations	50
Tax on use of the market and plaza	500
Burial permits	300
Taxes on use of communal resources	800
Payments in lieu of public service and non-specified income	1,000
Ten per cent tax on commercial and industrial enterprises	200
Income from the state	150
Income from the state and federal governments as specified by particular laws	500
Fines imposed for infractions of laws	230
Products from sale of *Bienes Mostrencos y Hallazgos de Tesoro Ocultos*	200
Gifts to the municipio	200
Total	9,200

It can be seen that almost fifty per cent of the income of the municipio is derived from four sources: the slaughter of animals, the payment of residents in lieu of working twelve days a year in public service, the exemption of publication of acts in the civil register, and taxes from the use of communal resources.

The income of the municipio over a twelve-year period from 1931 to 1943 (data for 1936 were not available) is shown as follows:

Year	*Income* (Pesos) [a]
1931	4,360.74
1932	2,586.35
1933	4,855.91

[a] The figures for 1931 are for ten months, and those for 1932 are for six months. All others are for a twelve-month period.

income from this source indicates how rarely movies or other public entertainment comes to the village.

[a] According to state law, marriages and other acts recorded in the register should be officially announced by posted notices in the *ayuntamiento* and in the official government bulletin. But Tepoztecans shun this kind of publicity and by paying a special fee can avoid it. The same thing occurs in relation to the reading of the marriage banns by the priest. By special payment this also can be avoided.

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sidies from the church of Mexico. Rather, it makes substantial contributions to the national church of Mexico.

The church of Tepoztlán includes the seven villages of the municipio and controls fourteen village and barrio chapels. This is illustrated in Chart 4.

Summarizing the total personnel of the church of the municipio of Tepoztlán we find the following:

Functionary	*Number*
Priest of the parish	1
Sexton	1
Cantor	1
Mayordomos of the barrios	7
Mayordomos of the villages	7
Monjas Carmelitas	8
Rezanderos	10
Limosneros	42
Mayordomos of the images	28
Mayordomos of peregrinations	15
Functionaries in charge of cleaning the chapels and the temple	37
Total	157

CHURCH FINANCES

As has been pointed out earlier, the church in Tepoztlán not only supports itself but also sends contributions to the bishop in Cuernavaca. It is difficult to do more than approximate the annual income of the church because of variation in contributions from year to year. Records of church income were not available to us and probably were not kept. However, we have more or less accurate data on the most important sources of income. In the following pages we will present a conservative estimate of this income.

BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND FUNERALS

Our data indicate an average of 273 live births in the municipio over a six-year period. There are two classes of baptism, one a simple type at three pesos and the other with the ringing of the bells at four pesos. Assuming that the number of baptisms is about equally divided between these two types, we get a total annual income from baptisms of 956 pesos.

The charge for the *sacumisa* (the Mass said for a mother forty days after the birth of a child) is two pesos if said from the *cancel* and one peso if said from the altar. Again assuming about an equal number of each type, we have a yearly income of 408 pesos.

The priest charges twelve pesos for a simple marriage ceremony and twenty to twenty-five pesos for a more elaborate wedding. It is difficult to determine exactly how many weddings are simple and how many are elaborate. It is our im-

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pression that most church weddings in Tepoztlán are of the second type, that is, *con ceremonia*. Judging from the marriage statistics, there is an average of about twenty-five church weddings a year. Assuming that twelve are of the elaborate type and thirteen of the simple type, we get an income of 426 pesos a year.

Another source of income is from the ceremonies at death and burial. The simple benediction for a dead child costs five pesos; benediction with *vigilias* costs thirty pesos; for going to the home of the deceased and praying, and then saying a Mass in the church and later at the cemetery, the cost is forty pesos.

The number of deaths in the municipio over a six-year period was 101, one-fourth of which was infant mortality. From this data we can calculate the church income. There is considerable variation in the costs of funerals. Often the rich will take only the simplest ceremony, while the poor will go into debt for an elaborate funeral. We can assume that about 60 per cent of the adult deaths yielded an income of at least 30 pesos to the church and the rest yielded about 40 pesos. We therefore get the following:

25 Benedictions for infants at 5 pesos each	125
46 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 30 pesos each	1,380
30 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 40 pesos each	1,200
Total	2,705

GENERAL MASSES

Here we can consider the Mass said in memory of the dead once a year; those paid by the religious associations in the village; and Masses said on Sundays and fiesta days.

It is customary to have a Mass said on the anniversary of the death of a close relative for at least two years, and some continue for much longer. Thus, given 101 deaths a year we can assume that at least eighty per cent will have Masses said the first year, sixty per cent the second year, and thirty per cent the third year. This would mean 180 Masses a year. These Masses have three prices: simple Mass for 2 pesos, a sung Mass for 11 pesos, and a Mass with a sermon for 40 pesos. The priest encourages the people to have Mass said for their dead and points out that the more elaborate the ceremony, the better the dead will fare in purgatory. Even the poor try to have the most elaborate Mass. Still, we will assume that at least 50 per cent of the Masses for the dead are simple, about 25 per cent are sung, and 25 per cent include a sermon. This yields the following income:

90 Masses at 2 pesos each	180
45 Masses at 11 pesos each	495
45 Masses at 40 pesos each	1,800
Total	2,475

In addition, we must add the money collected by the priest on the Days of the Dead when he says Mass for the dead as a whole, but mentions in particular the names of those who pay a three-peso fee. Informants believe he receives about 400

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593 833 take the initiative. It is the wife's duty to submit and the husband's prerogative to demand. It is believed that women have less ***naturaleza***, that is, they are sexually weaker than men. Many women enter marriage with the belief that intercourse is painful. Husbands do not expect their wives to be sexually demanding or passionate, nor are these viewed as desirable traits in a wife. Husbands do not complain if their wives are not eager for or do not enjoy sexual intercourse. Frigidity is considered a source of security by the husband, for the assumption is that a frigid wife will not seek sexual contact elsewhere. A husband is more likely to suspect a wife who is passionate and may feel impelled to keep her under close surveillance. Women who are passionate and who "need" men are referred to as *loca* (crazy), and it is believed to be an abnormal condition frequently brought about by black magic. Some husbands deliberately refrain from arousing their wives sexually, because they do not want them to "get to like it too much."

One informant said he did not encourage his wife for fear that he would be unable to satisfy her when he was older. Another informant explained that he did not teach his wife what he knew about sexual techniques, because "that would be making a whore out of her." Few husbands give attention to the question of their wive's sexual satisfaction. In general, sexual play is a technique men reserve for the seduction of other women.

Much of the women's expressed attitudes toward sexual relations with their husbands dwell upon its negative aspects and reveal feelings of self-righteousness which border on martyrdom. Women speak of submitting to their husband's "abuse" because it is their obligation to do so. Most women emphasize their desire [842] to avoid sexual intercourse for a long time after giving birth, in order to avoid pregnancy. They complain of the difficulty of keeping their husbands away from them at this time, and they put it in terms of the husband not caring sufficiently for the nursing infant.

In discussing the sexual relations of husband and wife, it is important to consider [585] the fact that there is little privacy for couples even on the first night of marriage, and, as the family increases, there is less and less privacy. In view of the obligation [864] of Tepoztecan parents to protect their children from learning the facts of life, the prevailing sleeping arrangements must act as a strong inhibiting factor. We were unable to find a single informant who would admit the possibility of a child hearing his parents at night. Also, there is a strong block among adults in recalling ever having heard their parents in sexual intercourse. Tepoztecans value privacy, and, as the children grow up, they make some attempt to put the older ones in a separate room or shelter. Occasionally a couple will creep into the *temascal* (sweathouse), or go into the patio for additional privacy.

585 833 Account after account from informants indicate that most couples spent their first night with the husband's parents or other relatives sleeping in the same room. Many brides, particularly in the past, who married at thirteen and fourteen years of age and who scarcely knew their husbands before marriage, were in complete ignorance of sexual intercourse and were reluctant and fearful at first.

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According to our older informants some brides did not submit to their husbands and had to be forced to do so. In one case a thirteen-year-old girl fought off her husband for six nights. Several times she ran out of the house to evade him. He finally became embarrassed and tied her hands behind her and forced himself upon her. Another girl left her husband permanently, because he forced her to submit to him for the first time in a field. But these stories apply more to the older generation. The young people in Tepoztlán today have many more opportunities for premarital contacts with the opposite sex and are generally familiar with the details of sexual relations by the time they marry.

Tepoztecan men are, for the most part, suspicious and distrustful of their wives and believe that they are capable of being unfaithful to them at the first opportunity. Men are unanimous in the belief that women must be kept under strict surveillance and control. The adulterous activities of men reinforce this attitude toward women. "I see how easily other women fool their husbands, my wife can, too." To insure his wife's loyalty the husband seeks to isolate her from outsiders.

When the couple lives with the husband's family for several years, it is relatively easy to guard the wife; but when there is early separation from the parental home, the husband is deprived of an important source of security. It is common for husbands in this position to ask the cooperation of relatives, neighbors, and friends in watching over his wife when she is left alone. As a result of these spies, some husbands know, in any given day, exactly when their wives went out and returned, with whom they spoke, and for how long.

Wives are generally forbidden to have female friends and most women discontinue all friendships at the time of marriage. Husbands view such friends as potential arrangers or go-betweens for the wife and a lover. Men frequently drop their own friends after marriage or do not encourage them to visit for fear that some intimacy might develop between the wife and the friend. The majority of husbands are suspicious of any activities which take the wife away from home. During the first few years of marriage, most wives are not permitted to leave the house unaccompanied. In cases where young couples live alone, the wife will prefer to ask a neighbor or a relative to make purchases for her, rather than risk her husband's anger or the gossip of others by going to the market alone. Although some young wives now go out alone, they are considered suspect by others.

When a woman leaves the house she is expected to return in the shortest possible time; any delay on her part may earn her a sound scolding or beating. Gossiping with other women is discouraged and sometimes punished. Most husbands do not approve of their wives going to wash clothing at the public washing place for fear they will gossip and learn "bad things" from other women. However, the burden some task of hauling water to do the washing at home serves to keep most husbands from banning the public washing place.

The suspiciousness and jealousy of some husbands is extreme. There are cases of wife-beating merely because the husband saw a man standing at the street corner near the house and suspected him of being his wife's lover. If a wife's work is not

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As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacamisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,[6] *padrino de medida o listón*,[7] *padrino de evangelio*,[8] *padrino de escapulario, padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

Compadres address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respect relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred to a woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.

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bring legal charges against the boy and try to get the girl home. If they are adamant and threatening, the boy may, in revenge, refuse to marry the girl and send her home where she will be severely beaten.

Raptos have existed as far back as informants can remember, but there is evidence that the number have increased considerably since the Revolution. During 1942 and 1943, approximately fifty per cent of all marriages began as elopements. This is symptomatic of the breakdown of parental authority and the increasing independence of young people. In the majority of cases after elopement, the respective *padrinos* of the boy and girl will intercede and bring pressure upon the couple to marry. Most elopements end in marriage. Of the thirty elopements in the village during 1942 and 1943 all but three ended in marriage. In these three cases the girls were orphans, with no one to intercede in their behalf.

IN THE CHURCH

To be well married in Tepoztlán is to be married in church. Because civil marriage is now compulsory by law, most couples marry by both laws. Approximately 75 per cent of 133 marriages in the village between 1941 and 1946 were by both laws.

On the day the couple obtain their civil marriage certificate,[4] they appear before the priest with two character witnesses for the *presentación*. The priest writes down the name, age, and civil status of the boy and the girl and then begins to question each of the character witnesses. He asks the boy's witness if the boy has other *novias*, or other commitments, or whether he has children with another woman. Then the girl's witnesses are asked similar questions. The priest then turns to the boy and girl and asks each in turn whether they want to marry of their own free will, or whether they are being forced to marry. On the following three Sundays the priest reads the marriage banns in the church and if there are no protests, the couple are married on the fourth Sunday. Because of the Tepoztecan sense of shame and reticence to publicize private affairs, protests during the time of the reading of the banns are rare, even when some jilted lover or an unwed mother may have good cause.

On the evening before the wedding, the boy's parents traditionally send a basket of bread, chocolate, some bottles of wine, and a turkey prepared with the necessary condiments to the home of the girl. They also send along the wedding dress, with its accessories, shoes, stockings, and flowers. That evening the girl is taken to the home of the godparents of marriage, where she spends the night. The godparents give her marital advice at this time, and again the emphasis is upon her need to obey and conform to all of her husband's wishes.

In the early morning the godmother helps the girl wash and dress. Church weddings require the bride to be dressed in a white dress, shoes, and stockings. A dress with a train, *la cola*, and a veil is desirable. (See Fig. 62.) Widows who

[4] For a discussion of civil marriage, see Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 73.

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remarry, or girls who have eloped and are pregnant at the time of marriage, wear a colored dress. The man may be married in simple *calsones* and huaraches and straw sombrero or in dark woolen store pants, poplin shirt, a cream colored linen jacket, fancy leather boots, and a felt hat, depending upon his resources. The man may wear his wedding clothes on later occasions but the woman's dress and veil

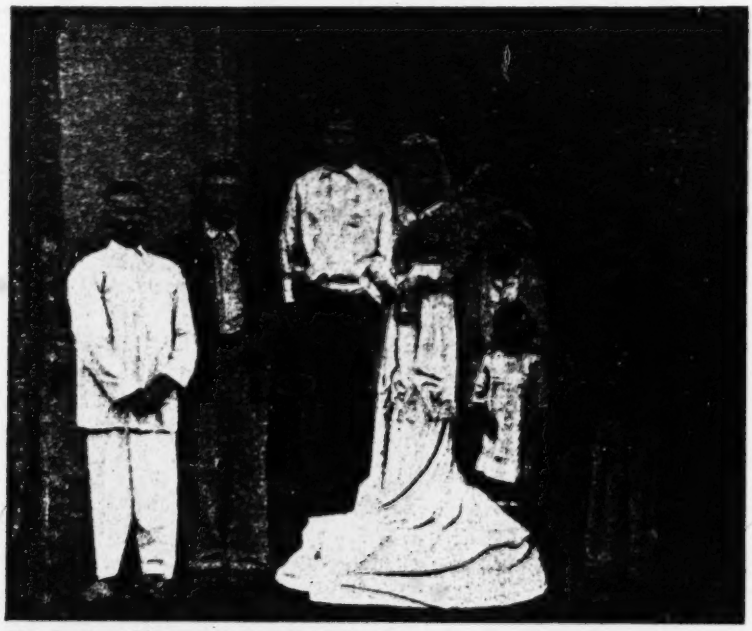

Fig. 62. A wedding party on the church steps.

are carefully put away and guarded throughout life. Many women are buried in their wedding dress, but others cut the dress short and wear it at fiestas.

The marriage vows, the placing of the ring, and the giving of the thirteen coins (*arrastomines*) take place at the church door. Most church weddings are held early Sunday morning. Traditionally, the godfather accompanies the bride to the church door where she is "delivered" to the groom. In some recent weddings the girl no longer sleeps at the godfather's house and instead is accompanied to the church by her own father and meets the groom and godfather at the church door. The ceremony of the wedding follows the traditional Catholic ritual. The ring is generally put on at the church door, and then the couple enter for the Mass.[5]

[5] Some writers have called marriage at the church door a Spanish custom. It is interesting to note that this custom is found in Chaucer in fourteenth-century England; see John M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1928), p. 279.

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Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse